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249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into containers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles [412] and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole sometimes [342] were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tors took part in a dance in honor of the god, and the next day the captives ascended to the top of a platform, where a powder, *yaubtli* (Indian hemp), was cast in their faces to anesthetize them against their ghastly fate. After preparing a great fire, each priest seized a captive and, binding him hand and foot, lifted him onto his back. A macabre dance took place around the burning coals, and one by one they dumped their burdens into the flames. Before death could intervene to put an end to their suffering the priests fished out the captives with large hooks and wrenched the hearts from their blistered bodies.[12]

In contrast to the callous brutality of the fire sacrifice, the ceremony in honor of the god Tezcatlipoca was strikingly dramatic, tinged with the pathos with which we view the taking of a life. The handsomest and bravest prisoner of war was selected a year before his execution. Priests taught him the manners of a ruler, and as he walked about, playing divine melodies upon his flute, he received the homage due Tezcatlipoca himself. A month before the day of sacrifice four lovely girls, dressed as goddesses, became his companions and attended to his every want. On the day of his death he took leave of his weeping consorts to lead a procession in his honor, marked by jubilation and feasting. Then he bade farewell to the glittering cortege and left for a small temple, accompanied by the eight priests who had attended him throughout the year. The priests preceded him up the steps of the temple, and he followed, breaking at each step a flute which he had played in the happy hours of his incarnation. At the top of the platform the priests turned him over the sacrificial block and wrenched out his heart. In deference to his former godhood his body was carried, not ignominiously

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

362 serious faces showed that, already conscious of their partici-
174 pation in the tribal life, they heeded their uncle's precepts as to conduct befitting boys and men. A fat little girl squatting in the doorway vainly tried to imitate with her stubby fingers and toy implements the graceful movements of her mother as she produced fine threads by the cunning manipulation of her spindle. Lolling on a cushion, a young man
● [276] idly smoked a cigarette in a cane holder as he picked thoughtfully at the scarcely healed lobe of his ear, tattered by penitential bloodletting with cactus spine and obsidian blade.

174 A fiesta was going on in another house, and one heard the
527 rich vibration of wooden drums and the high squeal of reed flutes. The patio was full of people, gay in the bright colors of their holiday clothes, and the air was heavy with the cloying scent of lilies. The sharp smells of rich sauces cunningly mixed from many peppers embroidered this odor, and occasionally a light breeze wafted the cool, mystic scent of incense. Somebody was celebrating his birthday, since in the background one saw a painted figure adorned with amate paper, representing the god who presided over that event. A little apart from the feasters, who partook of their entertainment with dignified pleasure, were a group of old men whose clownish gestures and burlesque solemnity could be easily associated with the cups of pulque that a slave was industriously filling for them. Not for nothing had these elders passed through the rigid self-denial of young manhood; they were permitted alcoholic indulgence in their old age whenever a feast came to pass. A last backward glance revealed the musicians, garlanded with flowers, blowing their flutes and conch shells, while one man beat the head of a cylin-

584 age to marry, they spoke to him of their wish to seek a wife for him. And he replied, thanking them for this solicitude which they showed in marrying him. Then they addressed the leading man who had charge of all the young men, whom they called *telpochtlato*, and they told him that they wished their son to marry, since [the son] held doing so to be good. For this they held a great feast for him and for all the young men whom he had in his care; and for this they held conversation with him, after having given food and drink to him and to all those whom he had [412] in his charge. And at the beginning of the conversation they laid before him an axe for cutting lumber or firewood. This axe was a sign that that young man took his leave, now, of the company of the other young men; for they wished him to marry. And thus the *telpochtlato* departed content. After this the relatives decided, among themselves, upon the woman whom they were to give [to the son], and summoned the marriage-makers, who were some old, honored women, that they might go to speak with the parents of the young woman. [The marriage-makers] went two or three times, and spoke, and returned with the reply. During this time, the relatives of the young woman spoke among themselves, and, having decided to give her to him, they gave their consent to [777] the marriage-makers. After this they sought a day of good fortune, of a sign of good disposition [among] which were acatl, ocomatli, cipactli, quauhtli. Having chosen one of these signs, the parents of the young man made known to the parents of the young woman the day on which the marriage should be performed, ● [276] and then began to prepare the necessary articles for the wedding—[those] to eat and to drink, as well as such [things] as capes, smoke tubes, and flowers. 585 This done, they summoned the leading men and all the other people whom they wanted for the wedding. After the feast and [after] many speeches and ceremonies, those acting for the young man came at about nightfall to take the young woman. They carried her, with great solemnity, upon the back of a [382 373] matron, and with many pine torches burning in two rows before her. Many people surrounded her, behind and ahead, until they brought her to the house of the parents of the young man. Having brought her [372] to the house of the young man, they set them both by the hearth, which they always had in the middle of a hall, full of fire. And the woman was at the left hand of the man. Then the mother of the young man

casarse, hablauanle en que le querian buscar su muger: y el respondia, haziendoles gracias, por aquel cuydado, que tomauan de casarle: luego hablauan al principal que tenja cargo de todos los mancebos, que ellos llamauan Telpuchtlato: y dezianle como querian casar su hijo, que lo tuujesse por bueno: y para esto hazianle vn combite a el, y a todos los mancebos, que tenja a su cargo, y para esto le hazian vna plática, despues de auerle dado de comer, y de beuer a el y a todos los que tenja à su cargo: y en principio de la plática, ponjanle delante vna hacha de cortar madera o leña. Esta hacha era señal que aquel mancebo se despedia ya de la compañja de los otros mancebos: porque le querian casar, y ansi el telpuchtlato yua contento. Despues desto determinauan entre si los parientes la muger, que le aujan de dar, y llamauan a las casamenteras, que eran vnas viejas honrradas, para que fuessen a hablar a los padres de la moça, yuan dos, o tres vezes, y hablauan, y bolujan con la respuesta. En este tiempo los parientes de la moça se hablauan, y concertandose de darsela, dauan el sí, a las casamenteras. Despues desto buscauan vn dia bien afortunado, de algun signo, bien acondicionado, quales eran acatl, ocumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, auiendo escogido alguno destos signos: los padres del moço hazian saber a los padres de la moça el dia en que auja de hazerse el matrimonjo, y luego començauan a aperejar las cosas necessarias, para las bodas, assi de comer como de beuer, como de mantas, y cañas de humo, y flores. Esto hecho combidauan a los principales, y toda la otra gente, que ellos querian para las bodas. Despues del combite, y de muchas platicas, y cerimonjas: venjan los de la parte del moço a lleuar a la moça de par de noche, lleuauanla con gran solennjdad, a cuestas de vna matrona, y con muchas hachas de teas encẽdidas, en dos rencles delante della, yua rodeada della mucha gente, detras y delante, hasta que la llegauan a la casa de los padres del moço: llegada a la casa del moço, ponjanlos ambos, junto al hogar, que siempre le tenjan, en medio de vna sala, lleno de fuego, y la muger estaua, a la mano izquierda del varon: luego la madre del mancebo, vestia vn vipil muy galano a su nuera, y ponjale junto a sus pies vnas nauas muy labradas: y la madre de la moça, cubria cõ vna manta, muy galana a su yerno, y atausela sobre el hombro, y ponjale vn maxtli, muy labrado, a los pies. Hecho esto, vnas viejas, que se llaman titici, atauan la esquina de la manta del moço con la falda del vipil de la moça. Assi se concluya el

he summoned his blood relations, he assembled them, that they might go to eat at the house of him who had taken the captive.

tlauhtia: auh yn ioaniolque quintlalhuja, quicentlalia, ynic tlaquatiuj ichan tlamanj:

[282] And here they cooked each one a bowl of a stew of dried maize, called *tlacatlaolli*, which they set before each, and in each was a piece of the flesh of the captive.

vmpa quinnonamaltia ceccen molcaxitl in tlaolpacatli, q'nmamanjliaia, itoca tlacatlaolli, ypan icietiuh ceccen tlauetli yn jnacaio malli:

[302] They named [the captor] the sun, white earth, the feather, because [he was] as one whitened with chalk and decked with feathers.

quitocaiotia tonatiuh, tiçatl, hiujtl: ipampa iuhquin ytiçaio, yujo.

The putting on of feathers was done to the captor because he had not died there in the war, but was yet to die, and would pay his debt [in war or by sacrifice]. Hence his blood relations greeted him with tears and encouraged him.

ypotonjloca omochiuh in tlamanj, ynic amo vmpa omjc iaopan, yn anoço oc miqujtiuh, quintlacatiuh, ic quichoquiztlapaloa, quellaquaoa yn ioaniolque.

And on the morrow, the gladiatorial sacrifice[11] was made. Until early morning, until dawn, they made them hold vigil, all night, until the night was ended. Thus did the captives, those to be sacrificed, pass the whole night until dawn.

Auh yn imuztlaioc, tlaceoano: yn jouczinioc, inic oallaruiz quintoçauja, iuh ceioal, iuh tlami ioalli, iuh contlaça in ceioal, iuh ipan tlatuj, in mamalti, in nauanti:

From those whom they would offer as sacrifices, once more they took hair [from the crown of their heads], at midnight.

in qujnoacanazque, oc no cepa quintzoncuj, ioalnepantla:

This was called "the sending upward of the eagle man";[12] because he who died in war went into the presence of [the sun]; he went before and rested in the presence of the sun. That is, he did not go to the land of the dead.

ic mitoaia onacoquiztilo in quauhtecatl, iehica ca iaomjquj, itco iauh, itcopa itztiuh, itco monoltitec in tonatiuh, quitoznequj, amo mictlan iauh:

And therefore he who took hair [from the crown of a captive's head] kept his hair safely.

yuan ipampa in quitzoncuja, quimopialtiaia yn itzon:

[276] Because thus he attained honors, flowers, tobacco prepared for smoking, and [rich] cloaks.

iehica ca ic oquimonacetj, in mavizçotl, in xuchitl yn ietl, in tilmatli:

Thus the captive's valor would not in vain perish; thus he took from the captive his renown.

ynjc amo çan nenpoliuiz itiiacauhio: iuhquinma ic contleiocujliaiz malli.

[340] And he who took the captive was adorned, there at [the Temple of] Tecanman, in Tenochtitlan, with white turkey down, the feathers being pasted upon him as hath been set forth in [the Feast] of Quauitl eua.

Auh in tlamanj vmpa muchichioa in tecanma, tenochtitla, iztac totolihujtl, ynjc mopotonja, in iuh omoteneuh ipan quauitl eua.

And the place where, arranged in order, the *totoltecti* remained, was upon white earth or upon grass; for there was white earth in the place where they waited.[13]

Auh in vncan momanaia totoltecti, tecpantimanj vipantimanj tiçapan, anoço çacapan: ipampa ca tiçatl antoca in vncan momanaia.

And wherever in the city grass was shaken out, upon it they placed, set forth, and exhibited them—

Auh in cana altepetl ipan, çacatl motzetzeloa, yn ipan quinoalmana, quinoalquetza, quinoaltcititia:

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11. See p. 44, below, in *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71, note, in the discussion of agricultural ceremonies of the ceremony, that "The preparation of the ground and the making a fruitful was represented to the people, who flocked together from all directions, by the 'trembling' ceremonial."

12. See note 9; also below (*Ensaye Kaperel*), p. 65.

13. In the corresponding Spanish, Sahagún states: "*porque todos estaban, estaba como hecho de hierba, o de tiçatl, o grada estando allí estuvieron.*"

a bulbous forehead; not of swollen eyelids, nor enlarged ones; not with swollen cheeks; not of disfigured eyes or cheeks, nor with swollen face; not with cleft chin; not with a gross face, nor a downcast one; not flat-nosed nor with wide nostrils, nor with an arched, Roman nose nor a bulbous nose, nor bent nor twisted nor crooked—but his nose should be well-placed, straight; not thick-lipped nor gross- nor big-lipped, nor with bowl-like ones, nor enlarged; neither one who stammered, nor [one who talked] as if his tongue were pierced for a ring; nor one with welts on his tongue; nor one who spoke a barbarous language, or spoke thickly, or lisped, or was dumb; nor buck-toothed, nor large-toothed or fang-toothed, nor of yellowed teeth, nor darkened, nor decayed—but his teeth were like seashells, well arrayed in order; his teeth were not shaped like bowls. Neither had he scarred eyes, nor poor vision,[4] nor squinting eyes, nor scarified; not blinded, nor of small, needlike eyes, nor angry-eyed, nor sunken, nor hollow, nor cuplike, nor stupid-looking, nor gouged, pierced, or wounded; nor had he a scarred neck, [like one which hath been] choked, nor one with lacerations, nor with double chin, nor with pocks on the neck. Nor with protruding or long ears, nor with torpid neck, nor hunch-backed,[5] nor stiff-necked, nor with neck elongated, much elongated, nor twisted, nor kinked; neither with unduly long hands, nor lacking one hand, nor wanting both hands, nor fat-fingered; not emaciated, nor fat, nor big-bellied, nor of prominent, hatchet-shaped navel, nor of wrinkled stomach, nor shrunken stomach; not cringing; not of hatchet-shaped buttocks; nor of flabby buttocks or thighs.

He who was thus, without flaw, who had no [bodily] defects, who had no blemishes, no moles, who had no lacerations or wrinkles on his body, they then looked well that he be taught to blow the flute; that he might pipe and play his flute well; and that with it he hold his flowers and his smoking tube and blow and suck upon it, and smell [the flowers].

Thus he went bearing [his flute], his flowers, and his smoking tube[6] together as he walked through the streets.

And while yet he lived and was cared for in the house of the guardian, before he appeared [before the people], care was taken that he might be prudent

campoponantic, amo ixujujlantic, amo cuxujujlantic, amo ixpopoztic, amo no camachalocalcic, amo ixmetlapiltic, amo ixpechtic, amo iacapaztic, amo iacacocoiactic, amo iacaxaxacaltic, amo iacacantic, amo iacachiltoltic, amo iacaujtoltic, amo iacanecujltic, çan vel icac yn ijac, iacapiaztic, amo tenxipaltotomacac, amo tenxipaltotomac, tenxipaltotomactic, amo iacachiltoltic, amo iacaujtoltic, amo iacanecujltic, çan vel icac yn ijac, iacapiaztic, amo tenxipalcaoltic, amo popoloc, amo tentzitzipi, amo tentzitzipiltotca, amo tenmjmjcquj, apo tlanpantic, amo tlancujcujtztic, amo cuetlanc, amo tlancocoztic, amo tlanxoiouhquj, amo tlanpalanquj: iuhqujn tecciztli itlan, vel onoc vipantoc, amo tlancaztic, amo no ixtitiquiltic, amo ixnacatic, amo ixujuxaltic, amo ixtzitziquiltic, amo ixpopoiontic, amo ixpipiltic, ixpipiciltic, ixcocoçaltic, amo ixcocomoltic, amo ixatlacomoltic, amo ixcacantic, amo ixtotoiontic, amo ixtotomatic, amo ixtzatzapiztic, amo ixtzatzamoltic, amo ixtacaltic, amo quechtitiquiltic, quechmotzolnic, quetztzitziquiltic, quechnacatic quechxixiquipiltic, amo no nacazpatlactic, amo no nacazvilaztic, amo quechtiltic, amo quechtepotzotic, amo quechacquj, amo quechujiac, amo quechujtlaztic, amo quechnecuiltic, amo quechnenetic: amo mavivjtlaztic, amo matzicoltic, amo macuecuetzin, amo mapiltotomactic, amo itiujlaztic, amo cujtlatoltic, amo cujtlapetztic, amo zicquinquj, amo xictopoltic, amo xiccucio, amo ittitzotzoltic, amo cujtlapechtic, amo tzintepoltic, amo tzincuecuetzactic, tzintamalcuecuezac.

Jn aqujn iuhquj y, atle idacauhca, atle yiaioca, atle ytlaciuhca, atle ytlaciuiaça, atle ytech ca ernotnecatl, xinomaciuiztli: njmã cenca necujdaujlo, inic vel momachtiz, yn tlapixaz: ynic vel quipixaz, yujlacapitz: yoan inic vel muchi ipan qujtzitzquiz, yxochiuh, yoan yiexh, ipan tlapiztiaz, tlachichintiaz, tlanecuiaz:

iuhqujn cenalli mantiuh yn jxochiuh, yn jyiexh, yn iquac vtli qujtocaia.

Auh in çan oc nemj, in çan oc cupoualo, yn ichan calpixquj, yn aiamo ixneci, cenca vel necujtlaujloia,

4. See Sánchez (op. cit.): a number of possible variants are suggested.
5. Tzontecomatlan is suggested in various writings as a homeblanch. Cf. also Molina (op. cit.), Spanish-Nahuatl section, *corcovado*.
6. "Cañas o cañutos de gahumerios, sonajas" (ibid.); "*cañas de humo*" in Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text.

All went to be bathed. They went sounding trumpets; they went blowing shell trumpets; they beat clipper discs[10] with pine [hammers].

And all the priests carried on their backs their tobacco bags,[11] and their strings of *magney* fiber about the neck, from which went hanging the little bags, which were filled with dyed, powdered tobacco. And the fire priest went ahead of them, taking his incense burner and his *magney* thorn. And, with it, he carried his incense bag.

And leading them went a man, an old priest. He went bearing on his shoulders the mist rattle board, called also the sorcerers' staff, which was thick, broad, very wide, and long—very long. And it rattled; he went along rattling it.

No one else remained at the priests' dwelling; the house was all empty, deserted, tenantless.

And only four stayed there—singers, who sat singing, beating the drum, rattling the turtle shell rattle and the gourd rattle, and blowing the shell trumpet. They sat plying the shell trumpet.

And when they had reached the water's edge, the priests' bathing place, where, at the cardinal points, were the mist houses, thereafter all threw themselves down and seated themselves, trembling, shivering, quaking with cold, their teeth chattering.

Hereupon spoke the old man called the old precious stone priest; he said:

"[Behold] the place where the serpents are wrathful, where the water-gnats buzz, the place where the ducks alight, where the white reeds rustle."

When he had thus spoken, thereupon all plunged into the water; they churned it up—beating the water with their hands and with their feet, crying out. Speaking hoarsely, they mimicked all the birds.

Some spoke like ducks, babbling; some mimicked wading birds, speaking like them; some imitated water ravens, talking like them; some talked like [large] herons, some like kingfishers, some like cranes.[12]

Where they bathed, there in their midst were

Viloa, onnevtemalo, tlapitzalotiuh, quijpitztiuj, in tepiztli, cohcouiloc chililiti.

Auh in nuchintin tlamacazque, quimamama yn imiyiequach, ynmecacoxquj, inmemecacoxquj, itech pipilcatiuh yn imiiequach, ontetentiuh yiaqualli: yoan quinisacantiuh in tlenamacac, ytlemauh ietiuh, yoan yuitz ietiuh: yoan itlan cana icopalxiquijpil.

Auh ce tlacatl quacujlli teiacantiuh, quijquechpanoztiuh, aiochicaoaztli, no itoca naoalquauitl, patlaoac, patlactic, patlacpol: yoan viiac, vitlatztic, yoan cacalaca, quicacalatztiuh

aocac ce onmocaoã calmecac, cemjchictiuh, cactimoquetza, cactiuetzi in calmecac.

Auh çan naujntin in vmpa onmocaoa cujcanjme, cujcatoque, teponaçotoque, aiochiuhtoque, aiacachtoque; quijpitztoque in quijquijztli, quijquijçotoque.

Auh yn oacito atenco, yn jnnealtiaia tlamacazque: nauhcampa in manca yn aiauhcalli, njman ie ic neteteco, netlalilo, tlatzitzilca, tlaviujoca, tlacuecuechca, netlantzitzilitzalo:

in ie iuhquj njman ic tlatoa, in veue itoca chalchiuhquaquilli: quitoa.

Cootl ycomocaiã, amoiotl ycaoacaian, atapalcatl ynechiccanaoan, aztapalcuecuetlacaian:

yn oconjto y, njman ie ic onnetepeoalon atla, tlachachaquatztinemj, yn atlan, tlamaujtectinemj, tlacxiujtectinemj, atlacxiuitectinemj, tzatzitiz:emj, ycaoacatinemj, quintlaichecalhuja yn inquichtin tõnome: cequj canauhtlatoa, tlacacauja, ceq'ntin quintlaichecalhuja, in pihpiztli, pipiztlatoa: cequintin quintlaichecalhuja, yn acacalooa, acacalotlatoa: cequintin aztatlatoa, cequintiã azoquentlatoa, cequin tocujlcoiotlatoa:

yn vncan mahiaia yn, tlanepantla manca in cuen-

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10. *Chilililí*: cf. Gabriel Saldívar: *Historia de la música en México* (Mexico: Editorial "Cultura," 1934), p. 31: *cascabeles; sonajillo (sound)(?)*.

11. *"Todos llevaban a cuestas, como talegillos atados con unas cuerdecitas de ixtli, una unas bolsas al cuello; y de unos cañutos, unos tiros de gusanos pintados, cuelgan con las mismas talegas, que llamaban yiequechtli; y en aquellas talegas llevaban una manera de hierba, hecha a la manera de coloured de rosoure, que ellos llamaban pagapatli, que era colorizada con tinta, y con polvos de una yerua que ellos llamaban yiétl, que se cuece haciendo de cenizas"* (corresponding Spanish text).

Cheb (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 57n.) writes: *"Ixtapatl: wood resin, yiétl tobacco.* The Mexicans had three kinds in use: the *yiétl* or Nicotiana tabacum herbal.; the *quauhyiétl*, *quauhtlo tzonecuitlan*, *yiétl tobacco*, or Nicotiana rustica L.; and *pizietl*, *pacietic atzatli*, *yiétl tobacco*, or Nicotiana tabacum L., tobacco either in small or shrubby in pellets called *pogoatli*: *yiétl tobacco*, *quauhtl*, *grand*, or smoked in cigars or *purgueti*: *pacatli atzatlan*, *yiétl tobacco*. When smoked, tobacco was mixed with *xochicuauhtl*, aromatic herbs, and charcoal." Cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 136.

12. These birds are described in Lib. XI, cap. ii, § 3 of Sahagún. Cf. Robredo ed., Vol. III, pp. 168-81. Other dubious items respectively as (probably) green-winged teal; ibis; American egret or heron; kingfisher (*zampoa* or *zaquanzonti*); and sandhill crane (*Hooge Kapitel*, p. 118, notes 3-7).

And upon the next day, all drank wine; all began the drinking. The wine which was drunk was named blue wine. All the old men, the old women, the warriors of noble lineage, they who had wives, the men of marriageable age, and the nobility, and the leaders of nobility—they drank the wine.

And the young chiefs, who were already mature, drank wine, but they drank only in secret, not disclosing themselves; they hid themselves well in the dark; they retired behind bushes, lest they be seen

And if anyone discovered them, if it were known that verily they drank wine, that indeed all had gathered and congregated together—they beat them with pine staves; they bruised their bodies sorely, and shaved their heads like servants. They dragged them, kicking them; they hurled them to the ground; they cast stones at them. Verily, they afflicted them exceedingly. Sometimes, from this, death came.

And after they had taken their pleasure [with them], they cast them hence, they threw them out of the house. Thus fear came over [the people].

And in the home of him who had ceremonially bathed [the victims], there was song; there was beating of ground drums, rattling of gourd rattles, beating of turtle shells. Only as they were [seated] on the ground was there song; only upon the floor was the ground drum beaten. Gifts and favors were given all who worked and served the guests—those who cared for the tobacco, who saw to the tobacco; and those who cared for the chocolate, who saw to the chocolate; or who saw to the water; and those who offered food—the hosts. And the honored women, who were among the [cooking] vessels—who cared for the *tenamaxtle*, or the meat; those who set forth the meat, who stood over the meat; and those who stood by the wine—the wine makers. And all the neighbors—all of them—were offered gifts.

And the third day [of Atemoztli] was called "The Mock-fight of the Chonchayotl." One [man was arrayed to] resemble, and was the likeness of, the Chonchayotl. His hair was wild and disordered, bloody and frightful.[19] And when they arrayed the Chonchayotl, then they separated [into bands]. Apart were the priests, who went, and stood, with the Chonchayotl. And [also] apart lay the young warriors.

Then, at midday, they began skirmishing, in mock battle. They struck one another with fir branches, and canes, and tough, thin reeds bound firmly, tightly,

19. See Pl. 31.

tlatlaoano, haapeoalo: in vctli mja itoca matlalvctli, ixqujch tlacatl in vevetque, in jlamatque: yoā in tlapaltequjoaque, in ie cioaoaque, in otlapaliuhcatque, yoā in tetecutin, yoan in tlapaliuhcaiaca, in quja vctli. 796 X 273

Auh in telpuchtlatoque, in ie chicaoaque, quja in vctli: iece çan qujchtacayia, amo mjxmanaia, vellaiovalli qujmotoctiaia, vel moxiuhtlapachoaia, injc amo ittozque.

Auh intla aca qujnnexxotlaz, intla machililooque, in ca otlaoanque: in ca necentlalilоia, in ca nenonotzaloia: qujnvivitequj, ocoquauhtica vel qujnnacatepoçaoa, yoā qujnquatexoloxima, qujnquatetequj, qujnvivilana, qujntilioçatinemj tlaltitech qujntzotzona, qujntetentimaiavi, vel qujmellelaxitia: nemamaco injc mjctiloia. 637

Auh in oimellel onqujz, njmā in ca oalmaiavi, qujnoalchiccanaoa qujiaooc, ic mavizzli vetzia.

Auh in inchan tealtique, cujco, vevetzotzonalo, aiacacholo, aiochioalo: çan tlalpan cujco, çan tlalpan vevetl in motzotzona: tetlauhtilo, qujntlauhtia yn ixqujchtin otlatequjpanoque in techixquj, in qujmocujtlauja yietl, yn iiepā ca, yoan in qujmocujtlauja cacaoatl, in cacaoapan ca, anoço apan ca, yoan in techia, in techixquj: yoan in cioatzitzinti, in contitlan nemj, in tamalpan ca, in nacapan ca, in nacatlatlali, in nacatl ipā icac: yoan in vctli ipan icac, yn vctlali: yoan in ixqujch tlaxilacaleque, ixqujch tlacatl motlauhtia. 796 X 533 [431] [272 276] [252]

Auh injc eilhujtl moteneoa chonchaiocacalioa, ce moquetzaia, ce qujxiptlaiotiaia in chonchaiotl: quatatapatic, quapaçoltic, ieço temamauhti: auh yn oqujcencauhque chōchaiotl, mec moxeloa, nonqua manj, in tlamacazque inoan eoa inoan icac in chonchaiotl: auh nonqua momana in telpupuchti: 796 X

mec peoa nepantla tonatiuh, in moiaiaotla, micali, ynjc moujujtequj, acxoiamaitl, ichoatl yn oiametl, yoan acapitzactli, yoan otlapitzactli, qujcujcujtlal-

643 301 [532] A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A green stone nose rod; chalchiuhiacamjtl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; teuxiuhiacamjtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; chalchiuhcozcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlacecotl,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8] coztic teucujtlachaiaoac cozcatl, chalchiuhtlacanaoalli iitic manj,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,

[237] A golden band for the calf of the leg; coztic teucujtlacotzeoatl,

A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; quetzalmacpanjtl,

A quetzal bird as headdress; quetzaltotoicpacxuchitl,

Quetzal feather horns; quetzalquaquaujtl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; quetzalecaceoaztli coztic teucujtlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; coztic teucujtlachipulcozcatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; teucujtlacoztic acuechcozcatl,

643 ● [276 416] Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. xuchitl, ietl, ineiscaujl tlatoanj, tezcatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca inpial, in isquich imaçeoaia tlatoanj,

[298 281] Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. oçeloenacactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

[534] 533 [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; teponaztli, teponaztzatzaztli, teuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, ueuetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in ixquich omjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacozcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,

351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. xuchiquaujtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inezca catca: ca maçeoaz in tlatoanj,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. tezcatanatli, tziquaoaztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 542; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 319ff., on etymology of *amanteca*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

sums; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxquich qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 643 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquaujtl, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoqujteconatl, ioã in jxquich tlamantli çoqujtlatqujtl. 443 463 656 [276] [415]

Auh in ichoantin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo quimocuitlauja, intequjuh, totoco, ioan cacaltilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli quinamaca, aço tlaçoilmatli, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oiximachililoc, intlacamo quinextiz in aquin quicobujli, in tlein tlachtectli, quitzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel quicoaia, [685]

in jntequjuh catca tianquizpantlaca quichioua iiauitacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan texoxtzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequitia tianquizlli, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oquichti, ioan çioa in tequitlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 275, describes quauhtli as "bajar y verde de los frisoles"; on p. 338, however, it is given as Mirandopuerkeriana Moellers L.

[p. 70 is blank]

.6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense, he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican omottlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yceceyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

Ca y iehoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn. tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yzqualli ychoxtl im piçietl tlanelolli tlilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, youn tecuciztli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [705] [781] [276 415]

yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã mottlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omottlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitztiuitze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

[534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Gliederung der Alt-Azekischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 338, says of the term *totoni*: "*Da es im Text dazwischen heisst, die drei Copalbeutel tragen, wird es sich um Proviant handeln.*" The term *thomaquetic* he translates (*ibid.*, p. 161), "*schliesst die mit einer Schnur.*"

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State."

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen[**]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells[**]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles[**]
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)[*]

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian[*]
2,000 vessels of white salt[**]

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[***] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinolticpac, *FNE*, 3: 130.

[***] *FNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que sembo-

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

262 643 276 314

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

651 212 289 344 411

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen laúgh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

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851 **Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth how a feast was held, and what the order of service was, and how there was drinking of wine.**

Inic cempoalli on caxtolli ocs capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn juh mocoanotzaia, yoan in juh catca tlaxcalteca, yoan in juh tlacoanaia.

And as to the invited guests: already there was jostling among the guests. All took their respective places; the houses were entered. There was disorder and scattering about; there was wandering and there were disputes, rushing about like fools, hurrying, hastening, and unrest.

Auh in tlacoanotzalti, ie cuel iẽ, nequequeçalo in coame, netétreco, calacoa, tlaixnelivi, tlaixmoiaoa, neixpololo, neixnanamico, tlaixtomaoa, tlãtlacivi, ycioa, netetrequipacholo,

[276] For everything, assignments were made and work distributed. First came the tobacco servers. Tobacco was served; one was provided with tobacco; tobacco was smoked. Then the flower servers followed them. They provided and gave them flowers; they favored them with crowns and garlands of flowers; they provided them with flower crowns and garlands. They arranged before them bowls with tobacco tubes. They sat smoking, inhaling the fragrance. All smelled it. There was a pleasant and fragrant odor.

occentlamãtli ipã neyhinquetzalo, netetrequipanaco, iacattiuh, in teyiemacac, teyiemaco, teyictilo, yictlatilo, njmã contoquilia yn tenochimacac, tenochitia, tenochimaca, conteaquia in icpacnochitl in nochiocatl, teicpactochitia, tenoch coacatia, teixpãmomãmana yn jiecaxitl, tlachichin.lotoc, tlanecntoc, tlaneco, tlauviantoc, tlavevelixtoc:

And thereupon went the server, and following him those who changed the courses and carried [the food] in their arms. They served the people, placed them in order, went placing the people in line, putting them all in line. Thereupon all ate. [But] first they cast on the ground [a mouthful of food].[1] Later something was reserved, put aside for their servants.[2]

auh njmã ie ic iauh in tetlamacac, quitocativi, in tetlanamjctilique, in tlanapaloque, tetlamaca, tevipana, tepilotiuh, tecempilotiuh, njmã ie ic tlaqualo, achtopa, ontlatlatlaça, çatepã netlacavilo, ie tlaquanja yntetlavicalhoã:

[277] And thereupon also went the chocolate[3] server. In just the same way he went arranging the people in order, placing them in line. He neglected no one; he was very careful with each one. He went placing for each one the stirring sticks with which the chocolate was beaten, whereby the chocolate was consumed. Chocolate was put aside for each of them — they put aside chocolate for their servants, [as well

auh njmã ie no ic iauh in teamacac, çan ie no ivi tevipantiuh, tecempilotiuh, aiac quixcaoa, vel mixpetzitza, contetequilitiuh in aquavitl, ynic monelon cacaoatl, ic ahatlioa, teaatlacavilo, quimatlacavjia, intetlavicalhoã, in viconj, in tlacoanj, in quitquinj netlacavilli,

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"antes que començassen a comer: los combidados, la comyda que les mujan puesto: tomauan un bocado de la comyda, y arrojauanlo al suelo: a honrra del dios Tlalocantli."*

2. Ibid.: *"los seruidores de la comyda . . . traujan comyda a cada uno, segun su comyda [sic]: y la ponjan delante, del que estaua sentado: una orden de chiquigites, con diuersas maneras de pan: y ponjanlos en los chiquigites: otras vezes cantaua, con diuersas maneras de comyda, con sarsa, o ponjala. . . . dexando comyda, diuase los sabuar a sus criados, y tambien los esclauos, y chiquigites."*

3. *Add* to terminology used to denote chocolate. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.* (Spanish-Nahuatl section), *"Beuer agua, cosa o cacao. o. cali."*